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Scandinavian Studies

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FACTUAL INADVERTENCIES IN IBSEN'S DRAMAS

NORMAN L. WILLEY

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PROBABLY no pedantic fidelity in the observance of mere physical facts is required in great dramatic works; certainly both theatre audiences and literary critics seem generally quite oblivious of the most obvious nature faking. However, with Ibsen the case is a bit different. He was a conscious reformer in his attempt to bring his stage presentations into the closest possible agreement with real life conditions. Along with the unnatural soliloquies and asides of contemporary drama he banished the conventional *confidant* and *raisonneur* and eliminated chance and the *deus ex machina* entirely; in Ibsen's dramas one situation normally grows out of another, and the entire action is designed to avoid any appearance of inverisimilitude. Never is there anything like the ludicrous appearance on the operatic stage when a seventy-five pound tenor is supposed to overcome in personal combat a basso-profundo villain who weighs his twenty stone. Ibsen professed a program in which drama was to assume the accuracy of photography, and not even the infant in its mother's womb was to be spared.

Moreover, Ibsen prided himself on his unusual ability to observe accurately; he asserted that on entering an unfamiliar room he always noted the salient details, the color of the carpets, the arrangement of the furniture, etc. He was an amateur painter also, and some of his preserved sketches of histrionic costumes show that he really did possess a good sense of tridimensional relationship, while his dramaturgical apprenticeship in Bergen gave him abundant opportunity for developing his natural tendency to make exact observations of physical things.

It would seem that such an author, possessing a natural gift of accurate observation, developed by abundant practical experience and brought into mental focus by a conscious program, would have made very few factual errors, at least in his laboriously prepared social dramas. However, a little examination reveals a considerable number of instances in which Ibsen was guilty of remissness in the observance of physical laws or in the accurate observation of factual matters.

Thus, in *Peer Gynt* we find the hero in the third act engaged in the prosaic task of cutting down a tough fir tree with his axe. The tree falls with a crash and Peer starts to trim off the branches, but suddenly he hears a suspicious sound and hides himself behind a tree. From this vantage point he watches a draft-evader who steals up, looks timidly around to see that he is unobserved, then pulls out a concealed sickle and cuts off his trigger finger:

En gut! Bare en. Han tykkes skræmt.
 Han skotter omkring sig. Hvad har han gemt
 under trøjen? En sigd. Han standser og glytter,—
 lægger næven tilrette på en skigard-stav.
 Hvad er det nu? Hvorfor står han og støtter—?
 Uf da! Hugg han ikke fingren af!

Probably the literary critic who does not notice the inconsistency here has never had occasion to note how an axe rings on a frosty autumn morning or that a falling tree could be heard for miles. Or perhaps he does not find it unusual that a conscript proposing to commit self-mutilation should come right up under a strange wood-chopper's nose to perform the act. The presence of the rail fence in the wilderness of Peer's exile is also an inconsistency, even in so fantastic a play as *Peer Gynt*.

In *Emperor and Galilean*, Part II, Act 5, we find Julian's army halted for a prolonged council of war and it is explained that the Persians have set fire to the grass of the prairies and that the Romans can advance no farther until *the ground cools off*. ("Livvagtsførereren Anatolos. Sletten brænder, siger jeg. Hist ude, hvor ørkenen hører op, har Perserne tændt ild i græsset. Vi kan ikke komme nogen vej før jorden er afkølet.")

Of course, Julian's whole campaign against the Persians is conceived with no regard for the natural conditions that prevail

in the Tigris-Euphrates valley; there *could* be no prairie fire because there is no grass to burn, yet there is here a strange misconception in supposing that a grass fire would heat the ground so that an army could not advance over it; even a modicum of thought and observation would convince one of such an error.

But it is not in the fanciful creations alone in which Ibsen seems to have neglected the close observation of facts. In the social dramas also there are to be found a few instances in which he has been careless.

The physical conditions in *The Wild Duck* are also not in accord with anything the dramaturgist ever saw in real life. The Ekdals occupy a partly finished attic and use the unfinished part for a chicken farm. In addition, Father Ekdal keeps rabbits here, and to make them feel at home he has set up a number of old Christmas trees. The necessary sanitary conditions and the evident fire hazard play no part in the drama, to be sure, but in real life they would immediately furnish a subject for the attention of the Norwegian police; the Ekdals would lose the privilege of shooting firearms among dangerously inflammable dead trees and would be found guilty of jeopardizing the health of the other occupants of the building by the maintenance of a nuisance.

Also, at the time of Hedwig's suicide the Ekdal chickens do not behave in accordance with nature. When the pistol is discharged in the attic, not only is there no sound of a falling body but neither the wild duck nor the other fowls make the least protest; Gregers and Hjalmar in the next room continue their conversation without further interruption.

What actually happens if one shoots a pistol in a hen house is that the chickens fly in all directions, trying to escape, and cackle loud and long in their terror. The duck, too, would waddle away as fast as it could scramble, quacking loudly in fright; only factitious dramatic fowls can keep silent when a weapon is discharged in their midst.

In immediate succession in the same play Ibsen is guilty of another falsification of nature; he has Gina, Hjalmar, and Gregers bring in Hedvig's corpse, of which he says in the stage directions: "I den nedhængende højre hånd holder hun pistolen festklemmt mellem fingrene." A little later the physician, Relling, attempts to take the pistol away and remarks: "Den sidder så fast, så fast,"

to which Gina replies: "Nej, nej, Relling, bræk ikke fingrene hendes, la' pigstolen sidde."

It is evident that local rigor mortis has set in, the corpse is warm and limp, except for the right hand, which holds the pistol. However, only in literature or on the stage is rigor mortis local only, and only on the stage or in the case of death from electric discharge is it ever instantaneous; in sudden death all the muscles become lax and a suicide *drops* his pistol.

It is quite possible that Ibsen never fired a gun in all his life and so knew little about the use and care of firearms from personal experience; however, his keen observation should have shown him a few obvious things if he ever saw others care for their weapons. His Hedda Gabler, certainly, should not have been allowed to fall out of her rôle as the daughter of an army officer and as a lady who was in the habit of using revolvers for target practice and the delectation of her friends.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the second act we find this interesting gun-woman "standing by the open glass door loading a revolver. The mate to it is lying in an open pistol case on the writing table." She calls a greeting to her friend, Judge Brack, who is approaching the house, then raises the pistol and sights: "Now I'm going to shoot you, Judge Brack," she calls, and she actually discharges the weapon. Evidently she must have been a better shot than most women, and the weapon was in good condition; for she did *not* hit the visitor. This latter person comes on the stage, somewhat displeased with her playfulness, takes the pistol away from her gingerly, looks around for the case, puts the weapon back and closes the lid. A moment later Hedda herself puts the pistol case away in a drawer of the writing table.

Anyone accustomed to firearms will note that the revolver is not cleaned immediately after it has been used; it is not even left out to be cleaned subsequently but is put back in the case and laid away until it is to be used on another guest. Nobody so much as blows the fumes out of the barrel.

If a Hedda Gabler in real life should treat her father's pistols in this way it would not be long before they would become so corroded that they would be as dangerous for one who discharged them as for one who stood before the muzzle.

The tragic suicide of Rosmer and Rebekka as well as the pre-

vious suicide of Rosmer's wife, Beate, was by drowning in the mill race. We have no details of construction, to be sure; we do not know what type of water wheel was used; we are simply told that the persons in question jumped off the bridge into the mill race, which act is, no doubt, for the non-mechanical mind synonymous with sudden death. However, it may be that jumping into a mill race at a little private mill is not so dangerous after all.

If one should precipitate himself into the mill race of an under-shot water wheel *in motion*, the result might well be disastrous, for the heavy wheel might pound one to death before one could be carried free of it by the rush of water. However, the double suicide takes place after midnight when the mill is not running and when not only the wheel is still but, in the case of an under-shot wheel or a breast wheel, the current is cut off and the mill race is dry. If the mill were run by the more economical and more probable overshot wheel the amount of water carried by the mill race would be comparatively insignificant and a jump into the few inches of water it carried would result in nothing more serious than wet feet, whether the wheel were in motion or not.

If a real Pastor Rosmer and his soul mate wish to drown themselves, the mill *pond* is a much more promising place than the mill *race*, as a practical observer could easily see.

The legal situation in *The Doll's House* may be considered one of the inadvertencies of Ibsen, although it escapes the analysis of the theatre audience and is given no consideration by the professional literary critic because of its insignificance; the psychology of the play is much more interesting than minor physical facts.

We learn that Krogstad, the money lender and moral leper, has aroused the indignation of Helmer and Rank by some matter in which he is supposed to have committed forgery. However, he had not pleaded guilty, as the morally indignant evidently considered proper, but had defended himself with all the legal means at his disposal. It seems that the charge could not be proved; for Krogstad won the litigation, even though Helmer and Rank still considered him guilty. Krogstad himself equates Nora's indiscretion with his own.

Throughout the play Nora's offence is considered as very

grave, involving a possible punishment by imprisonment as well as great moral obloquy. Krogstad believes that his note with the falsified signature is unimpeachable evidence of the commission of a crime. Helmer, the clever lawyer, admits without a murmur of protest the validity of the charge.

However, neither the Norwegian law nor the law of any civilized country would afford any ground for a suit against Nora, either in civil or in criminal court. Nora had been guilty neither of a crime nor of a misdemeanor, nor even of a tort. She had asked for a loan on her own note, and the loan shark had required her father's indorsement. In time the note was returned to him with the signature, and the money was handed over. Since the beginning of the contract interest payments had been made in accordance with the agreement, and there had been a partial amortization of the principal; there had been no breach of contract. Krogstad could not allege that he had suffered any injury and consequently could not start any action in civil court.

Of course the criminal code could not be invoked; for the essential factor of *mens rea* was lacking. Any lawyer would have entered a general demurrer immediately, and if he had been forced to plead he would have found a great number of defenses: that Nora was her father's agent, that the indorsement was as valuable as a genuine one, since her father was bankrupt; that Nora's indorsement was valid, since title to her father's property had passed to her, etc. Helmer's behavior is most unconvincing for a lawyer; he gives up the case immediately on reading Krogstad's letter; he does not even make an inquiry to determine whether the facts are correctly stated. A real lawyer would have immediately noted the flimsiness of the accusation and have busied himself with a plan of defense. However, Ibsen's lawyers are only ignorant laymen.

Another legal matter presents itself in *The Wild Duck*, where a document signed by Werle, Sr., is brought to the Ekdal family. This paper declares that a certain monthly stipend will be paid by the undersigned to Ekdal, Sr., for the duration of his life, and that after the beneficiary's death the same stipend will be continued to the granddaughter, Hedvig. Hjalmar Ekdal, the putative father of Hedvig, tears the document across to cancel it. On the following day he carefully pastes the two pieces together

again, declaring that he does not wish to deprive the beneficiary of the legacy.

However, Hjalmar was not a party to the matter in any way, and neither his mutilation nor his repair of the document had any legal significance. Moreover, as a unilateral undertaking the promise to pay the legacy was not enforceable in law; since there was no consideration whatsoever, the beneficiaries of the writ had no ground on which to compel its specific performance.

A considerable number of instances of Ibsen's failure to observe physical facts is to be found in *An Enemy of the People*. The protagonist, Tomas Stockmann, is the resident physician of the sanitarium and at the same time a local practitioner. The rôle is such, to be sure, that it might have been played quite as well and quite as convincingly by a lawyer or a priest; the doctor does not have anything to do that could not have been done as well by a layman. However, once that the doctor was chosen he should have remained a doctor and not fallen out of his rôle.

The only medical question in this play is one of the cause of certain cases of typhus fever and typhoid fever ("tyføse og gastriske tilfælder") among the guests of the sanitarium during the preceding year. At the time, Dr. Stockmann believed that the patients had been infected before they came to the bathing resort, but on later consideration he sent samples of the drinking water and of the sea water of the bathing beach to the university for an "exact analysis by a chemist" ("en exakt analyse af en kemiker"). That he did not make the "analysis" himself was due to the fact that he lacked the necessary scientific apparatus ("de fornødne videnskabelige hjælpemidler").

The "analysis" showed the "presence of decayed organic matters in the water—infusoria in great numbers" ("tilstedeværelsen af forrådnede organiske stoffer i vandet,—infusorier i mængdevis"). On the basis of this information Dr. Stockmann pronounces his curbstone diagnosis: "It is positively harmful for the health, whether it is used externally or internally." ("Det er absolut skadeligt for sundheten enten det nu bruges indvortes eller udvortes.")

Dr. Stockmann states that the cause of the rotten organic matter in the drinking water is the presence of a number of tanneries in the valley above the intake. Later in the play (Act 2),

however, he is more specific; for he declares it is his opinion that the source of contamination is a poisonous swamp ("denne forgiftige sump oppe i Mølledalén"), evidently a swamp into which the refuse of the tanneries found its way; for the remedy suggested was the extension of the main to a point above the tanneries. The water of the bathing beach was evidently contaminated from the same source, but there is no suggestion in the play of any means for remedying this condition.

Of course, the situation is in itself hardly a possibility; for we learn in the course of the play that during the construction of the sanitarium a difference of opinion had already existed in regard to the position of the intake; Dr. Stockmann had from the first urged a higher location but had been forced to yield to the parsimonious directors, who balked at the expense. It is a naïf supposition that no examination of the water should have been made at the time, either for the purpose of settling the difference or for use in advertising the resort.

Evidently the water was not curative water of any particular mineral content, since Dr. Stockmann allowed the change in proposed intake without fundamental objection. Any pure water would do and the contaminated water was accepted without any scientific investigation. Also the allegedly tremendous expense involved and the time required to extend the pipe line to a higher source ("et par hundrede tusen kroner—et par års tid") seem to be accepted by Ibsen critics without comment, although the extension of a two-inch main (which certainly would have furnished a supply of water amply sufficient for a sanitarium) could never have been an undertaking of major proportions, the opinion of the histrionic mayor and of the board of directors to the contrary notwithstanding.

Several points in the medical question show conclusively that Dr. Stockmann could not have been of the training and intelligence required by the Norwegian law governing the licensing of physicians. The lumping together of *typhus* and *typhoid* could have been made only by a layman who had taken no steps to inform himself of the results of contemporary research in bacteriology. Not only had the two diseases been clearly differentiated for the last forty years (Elisha Bartlett, 1842) but the bacillus (not infusorian) of typhoid had been recognized two years before

the publication of the play. Perhaps a layman would have known nothing of this, but a practicing physician should have read his journals or, at least, have had some notions in regard to the germ theory of disease.

That no upset should have occurred in the sanitarium by a case or more of the dread contagious disease *typhus*, that the institution should have escaped quarantine limitations, and that the management was looking forward to an increase in guests for the next year seems quite improbable. Also that the filthy conditions due to the tanneries should have caused these diseases without the town's becoming a pest hole of infection is again a layman's guess rather than a physician's prognosis.

The typhus germ is not carried by drinking water, to say nothing of the aerated water of a bathing beach; it grows in the filth of crowded districts without proper sanitation. The occurrence of typhus in the sanitarium could have been justified only on the basis of Dr. Stockmann's first presumption, viz., that of previous infection, or of unspeakably unsanitary conditions and the presence of typhus-bearing pediculi.

The typhoid germ under the conditions of this play could have been traced only to the voidings of a typhoid patient, not to the tanning vats or tailings of a tannery. Such refuse as was frequently dumped out would be composed of scrapings of hides, refuse hair, and fat. In case any tannery in 1882 still used archaic methods in which human excrements were employed in the vats, the process of tanning would have been so slow that by the time the contents of a vat were flushed out all typhoid bacilli would have long since been dead.

The swamp mentioned as the immediate cause of contamination would in reality have been an excellent means of eliminating the "rotten organic matter," for it would have exposed it in a shallow basin to the direct action of the sun's rays, to the assimilative activity of abundant vegetable growths, and to the destructive action of enemy bacteria in a basin with no current. The swamp would have been just the filtration plant that a sanitary engineer would have recommended for the purification of polluted water.

Ibsen needed for dramatic effect some dangerous disease, the bacilli of which came from drinking water, and he chose typhoid

in accordance with the current conviction of laymen that this disease is to be traced only to impure drinking water; while he probably added typhus in the belief that it was practically the same disease. However, the etiology he provides would indicate something much less malignant, such as dysentery.

Dr. Stockmann's non-professional report of an "analysis by a chemist" does not argue for any profound observation of facts either. Bacteriology was an established department of science and many bacilli (including *bacillus typhosus*) were already known in 1882. What the doctor actually received from the university was also not a report from a chemist but from a bacteriologist.

Probably no physician in 1882 would have called bacteria by the indefinite name *infusoria*. The conception that Ibsen had of the bacilli is made clear in a conversation between Dr. Stockmann and Morton Kiil in the second act:

Morten Kiil . . . Wasn't it true that some animals had gotten into the water pipes?

Dr. Stockmann. Oh, yes, *infusoria* animals.

Morton Kiil. And Petra said that many such animals are supposed to have gotten in. A really enormous quantity.

Dr. Stockmann. Yes, of course; they may be there by hundreds of thousands.

Morton Kiil. But there is nobody who can see them, wasn't that true?

Dr. Stockmann. Yes, one can't see them.

From these facts it will appear that Dr. Stockmann was not even an intelligent layman; not only is he ignorant of elementary matters in medicine but he does not even know of the microscope or have access to an encyclopaedia. Also the purely physical matters of water supply and local sanitation seem to be treated by him in a very careless manner.

In conclusion, it appears that Ibsen and his critics may have overestimated to some extent his careful observation of material objects.

GEORGE P. MARSH AND OLD ICELANDIC STUDIES*

RICHARD BECK

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ALREADY during the earlier half of the 19th century not a few noted American men of learning and letters began interesting themselves in Scandinavian culture, languages, and literatures, especially in the ancient history of the North and in Old Icelandic literature. Included in that group were Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the poet, George Bancroft,¹ the historian, and in particular, the versatile and productive George Perkins Marsh.²

Various factors contributed to the growing interest in Old Icelandic literature and Old Norse culture in general on the part of these and other American scholars and writers. Romanticism, with its preference for the ancient, the remote, and the unusual, still saturated the literary atmosphere in the English-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. The increasing attention which English scholars and writers were giving Old Icelandic literature also had its influence in America.

Probably more than anything else, however, what aroused the interest of American men of learning and poets in Old Icelandic

* This article was originally planned as a contribution to the volume of *Scandinavian Studies* (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. XXIX, Number 1, 1942) in honor of Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois, but was not completed in time for its publication. Nevertheless, the author herewith respectfully and gratefully dedicates this article to Professor Flom, who has richly and fruitfully carried on in the realm of Scandinavian studies in the United States the tradition established by George P. Marsh more than a century ago.

¹ In a letter to Rafn (Dec. 27, 1836), expressing his interest in the Royal Society, Bancroft says: "The work of Torfaeus is familiar to me; and I had read the Latin version and by aid of dictionaries examined the original of the *Heimskringla*." *Breve fra og til Carl Christian Rafn*, udgivet af Benedikt Grøndal, Kjøbenhavn, 1869, p. 181.

² Cf. Adolph B. Benson, "The Beginning of American Interest in Scandinavian Literature," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. VIII (1925), pp. 165-184, and George L. White, Jr., "Longfellow's Interest in Scandinavia During the Years 1835-1847," *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. XVII (1942), pp. 70-82.

letters was the extensive and far-reaching activity of Professor C. C. Rafn through the numerous editions of Old Icelandic writings issued by him or under his supervision on behalf of The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab). This was especially true of his monumental collective work *Antiquitates Americanæ* (1837), which he published in collaboration with Sveinbjörn Egilsson and Finnur Magnussen and which contains, as is well known, the source material from the sagas and other writings concerning the Vinland voyages, in the original Icelandic, together with Danish and Latin translations as well as an introduction in English. The publication of this work, which was indeed no ordinary event in those days, aroused tremendous interest in scholarly circles in many lands, and even on the part of the general public, not least in the United States, as might be expected. It called forth a whole body of literature of its own, in the form of translations, excerpts, adaptations, and reviews; likewise, it was made the subject of public lectures by men of prominence in various parts of the United States.³

It should also be noted here that the scholars and writers referred to above, not to mention other eminent Americans of the day, all corresponded with Rafn. Marsh corresponded with him over a long period of years, as will be discussed more fully below, and naturally Rafn encouraged him in his Old Icelandic and Scandinavian studies.

A New Englander by birth and descent, Marsh (1801-1882) was a man of uncommonly wide learning and varied interests, renowned in his day as a lawyer, diplomat, scholar, and author.⁴ He served his native state of Vermont as a member of its Supreme Executive Council for several years and as its representative in Congress (1843-1849). Far more extended, and distinguished to the same degree, was his service to his country abroad, first as

³ Cf. *Breve fra og til Carl Christian Rafn*, pp. 26 f. and pp. 47-51.

⁴ For his life and career see especially: Caroline Crane Marsh, *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh*, Vol. I, New York, 1888 (second volume never appeared); Samuel Gilman Brown, *A Discourse Commemorative of the Hon. George Perkins Marsh, LL.D.*, 1883; and *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XII, New York, 1933, pp. 297 f.

minister to Turkey (1849-1854) and later as the first minister of the United States to the new kingdom of Italy from 1861 until his death there twenty-one years later.

Although a busy man of affairs, Marsh found time to write extensively on such divergent subjects as natural science, philosophy, economy, archaeology, philology, and literature. His many-sidedness is well characterized as follows: "With interests which ranged from comparative grammar to physiography and from gathering of reptiles for the Smithsonian Institution to the collection of engravings, which were ultimately acquired by the Smithsonian, he was a sort of a universal genius, a conscientious and erudite scholar in many fields."⁵

Here is, however, not the place for an evaluation of his contributions to the sciences and the history of culture. On the other hand, a brief reference to his research and writings in the realm of English philology is in order, as these studies are closely linked with his fruitful interest in the Old Icelandic language and literature and in Scandinavian culture as a whole.

Marsh was one of the pioneer group of scholars associated with compiling the *Oxford Dictionary*. His *Lectures on the English Language* (1860; a revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1885) and *The Origin and History of the English Language* (1862; a revised edition appeared in 1885) have justly been characterized as "excellent philological and etymological works for their day." His enlarged and revised edition of *A Dictionary of English Etymology* by H. Wedgwood (1862) was also a notable work.

It was, therefore, only natural that a scholar as devoted to English philology and cultural history as Marsh had proved himself to be should sooner or later enter upon the study of the Icelandic language and literature. Concerning the beginning of his interest in that field his wife, Caroline Crane Marsh, has this to say:⁶

⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XII, p. 298. About his writings and work in the realm of the various sciences see: Bennett H. Nash and Francis P. Nash, "Notice of George Perkins Marsh," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XVIII, Cambridge, 1883, and W. M. Davis, "Biographical Memoir of G. P. Marsh, 1801-1882," *National Academy of Sciences, Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. VI, 1909, Washington, D. C.

⁶ *Life and Letters*, p. 22.

As far as can now be ascertained, it was in the early years of his Burlington life that he began the study of the languages of Northern Europe. French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and German he read fluently when he left college, and he had been collecting books in those languages as fast as his limited means would permit. What first drew his attention to the Northern European languages does not clearly appear, though his interest in early English history and literature probably explains it. At any rate, he seems to have taken them up, not only with zeal, but with success, for as early as 1832, we find him in frequent correspondence with Professor C. C. Rafn, the eminent antiquarian of the University of Copenhagen. This correspondence, which was kept up till the death of Professor Rafn, in 1864, was carried on indifferently in English and Danish.

In his oldest preserved letter to Rafn (Oct. 21, 1833) Marsh himself reveals some very interesting matters on this point, and since the letter is noteworthy in other respects, it is included here in its entirety:⁷

In the study of the legal profession, I have, in common with every student of English law, often had occasion to trace legal principles to a northern original. From this and other circumstances, I early became strongly interested in the history and the character of the Scandinavian people, and determined, some years since, to become acquainted with the languages and literature of Northern Europe.

I found an almost insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of this undertaking, in the difficulty of obtaining books, or even information what works to procure.

No books in the Icelandic, Danish, or Swedish languages are to be found in any of our bookstores, nor have I ever met with any tolerably complete account of the literature of either of those countries.

As I could find no bookseller, who had a correspondent at Copenhagen or Stockholm, I have been obliged to procure my books through Germany.

My principal want at present is the means of learning more of Northern literary history and criticism, in order to guide me in future purchases, and I therefore take the liberty to request you (if it is not too great a favour for an unknown foreigner to ask) to have the goodness to forward me a list of the titles of a few of the last works upon the literary history, bibliography, and criticism of the three Northern languages.

I should be pleased also to learn the titles of the published Acts of Literary Societies, having the history and literature of the North for their object, and of the best Periodicals published during the present century, or now publishing, in Denmark or Sweden which are devoted to the same purpose.

It would increase my obligation to you, if you will take the trouble to state

⁷ *Breve fra og til Carl Christian Rafn*, pp. 293 f.

the extent and the probable price of each work, and whether they can be procured at Copenhagen.

I fear, Sir, the liberty I am taking may appear unauthorized, but the zeal you have manifested in diffusing a taste for the study of the ancient literature and history of the North, in your own country, has led me to hope that you will excuse an obscure stranger for desiring you to render him some assistance, in promoting the same object, in a land where Scandinavian literature is wholly unknown. If it is in my power to give you any information upon any subject in which you are interested, connected with American History of Literature, or in any other manner to repay the obligation under which I am laying myself, I shall at all times be happy to do so.

This significant letter, (apparently the first one from Marsh to Rafn, although Mrs. Marsh says their correspondence had begun a year earlier) seems to indicate that it was not until his Burlington years (after 1825) that Marsh began in earnest to interest himself in Scandinavian languages and literature. Nevertheless, this evidence does not exclude the possibility that he had given some attention to such study earlier, as maintained by Dr. Samuel G. Brown:⁸

After receiving his degree with the highest honors at the college (Dartmouth) in 1820, Mr. Marsh was for a time employed as an instructor in the military school at Norwich, then in the high tide of success. The reason which he gave for entering upon an occupation which was not particularly congenial, was characteristic, viz., that he might be near the libraries of the college, so as the better to pursue his favorite studies. Even then he had entered with enthusiasm upon the investigation of the Northern European languages, which he ever after pursued not from any vanity of acquisition, nor yet simply as a study in philology, but that he might the more thoroughly know the races which spoke them, and be better able to trace the currents of civilization and discovery both in the old world and the new.

At any rate, it is safe to assert that Marsh was the first American to give serious attention to the study of Scandinavian languages and Northern lore in general. Unquestionably, he is to be remembered as the pioneer American scholar in that field.

Rafn's reply to the initial letter from Marsh, quoted above, is now presumably lost, but no doubt he readily complied with his inquiry and request, as can be seen from a letter which Rafn

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

wrote to him about a year later (Nov. 29, 1834), which says in part:⁹

Your letter of the 7th Oct., which reached me on the 20th inst., was one of the most agreeable communications I have received for a long time past. The lively interest which, it is evident, you feel in North-European archæology, and the well judged means you purpose to adopt in aiding in its progress justify the best hopes of a successful issue to your labors.

I look upon your intention of pointing out, in your prospectus, the importance of the old-Icelandic [*sic*] literature to the promotion of knowledge, and the maintenance of patriotic feeling in Iceland, as a very happy thought, as well as your purpose of noticing our forthcoming work "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," which, we conceive, cannot fail to meet with a favorable reception in America.

I cannot but give my unqualified approval to your purpose of publishing a compendious Icelandic grammar in English, and am of the opinion that you could not select a better foundation on which to raise your superstructure than Rask's "*kortfattet Veiledning*." On the same day I received your communication to this purport, I sent you a copy of that work, via Elsinore, as you directed.

As recorded by Mrs. Marsh and referred to before, correspondence between Marsh and Rafn continued until the latter's death; unfortunately, most of the letters which passed between them are now, it appears, lost, or at least not available in printed form. Rafn died in October 1864, but on January 1 of that year Marsh wrote him from Turin, thanking him, among other things, for sending him the last part of Sveinbjörn Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*, adding that he now had the complete work. This letter is written in Danish, as is another extant letter from Marsh to Rafn; they reveal his ability to write Danish remarkably well. His command of the spoken Scandinavian languages was, moreover, such that, as United States minister to Turkey, he was able to converse with the representatives of those countries in their own tongue.

Marsh wasted no time in carrying out his avowed intention of promoting in the United States greater interest in Icelandic and Northern studies. During the years 1834-1835 he wrote his Icelandic grammar: *A Compendious Grammar of the Old-Northern or Icelandic Language*. Compiled and translated from the grammars of Rask. This was indeed a pioneer work, the first Icelandic grammar in the English language, in fact the first Icelandic grammar published outside of Scandinavia.

⁹ *Breve fra og til Carl Christian Rafn*, pp. 295-299.

As the title indicates, and as is more fully set forth in the preface, the book is very largely based upon R. C. Rask's philological treatises on the Icelandic language, especially his *Kortfattet Veiledning til det oldnorske eller gamle islandske Sprog* (Kjøbenhavn, 1832). Nevertheless, the book represents considerable original work on the part of Marsh, especially in the sections dealing with inflections and syntax. For some reason the grammar was not published until 1838, although completed three years earlier; according to Marsh, it was the appearance of *Antiquitates Americanae* in 1837 which stimulated his desire to get the grammar before the public, as he felt that it would now have a greater appeal, in the wake of the general interest in the Old Icelandic language and literature aroused in the United States by Rafn's widely read and much-discussed work.

Unfortunately, the publication of the Icelandic grammar achieved its purpose only to a limited degree. Marsh had to be away from Burlington during the printing of the book, and the result was that it was so badly disfigured by typographical errors that he never put it on the market; on the other hand, he distributed corrected copies to scholars and others interested.

Marsh's interest in Icelandic studies can also be seen in both his original and his translated articles dealing with Old Icelandic literature. In *American Whig Review* (Vol. I, 1845, pp. 250-257) he discussed this topic in an article entitled "Old Northern Literature," which was written as an introduction to a series of articles on the same subject, but the continuation never appeared, whatever the reason. Some years before, he had translated into English with notes and published in *American Eclectic* (Vols. I-II, 1841) the first part of Bishop P. E. Müller's article "The Origin, Progress and Decline of Icelandic Historical Literature," which had originally appeared in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*. Marsh also wrote on Swedish literature and art in *American Eclectic*, since he was well versed in Swedish no less than in Icelandic and Danish.¹⁰

His familiarity with Old Icelandic literature and his admiration for the Old Norse spirit are also clearly revealed in his

¹⁰ Cf. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

lecture on "The Goths in New England" (1843), in which, as has been rightly stated, he preached "a gospel of Old Teutonic simplicity and virtue, to which he attributed everything good in the English tradition."¹¹

Probably the most fruitful aspect of Marsh's labors in promoting Old Icelandic studies in America was, however, his collection of Icelandic books, which, together with the rest of his large and rich library, has been in the possession of the University of Vermont since 1883. His first letter to Rafn (1833) shows that he had already then begun acquiring books about Scandinavian literature and Northern studies, and he continued to do so until late in life.

In *Catalogue of the Library of George Perkins Marsh* (Burlington, 1892) the list of books about Iceland and Icelandic literature covers no less than seven pages (337-343). Here are to be found all the principal editions of the Eddas and the sagas, printed up to past the middle of the 19th century; likewise, many of the most significant books about these and about the Icelandic language, antiquities, and mythology, which had been published up to that time. The collection contains many Icelandic dictionaries, a considerable number of philological books, travel books about Iceland, and the principal Icelandic lawbooks. The collection is also rich in the older works dealing with Scandinavian literature outside of Iceland. Considered as a whole, it was, in the day of the owner, in a class by itself in America, and it still remains, in some respects, one of the most significant collections of its kind in the United States.

Marsh's interest in Old Icelandic and in Scandinavian literature and studies therefore bore fruit in various directions. On the other hand, it is not easy to estimate in a tangible fashion the extent of the influence he exerted; one thing is certain: it was not by any means insignificant. It is a matter of record that his articles on Old Icelandic and Scandinavian subjects aroused

¹¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XII, p. 298. Cf. *Life and Letters*, p. 53. His Old Icelandic studies are here said to have "excited a warm admiration for the men of the North, and thrown for him a new and vivid light on the history of the Middle Ages."

attention and gained him recognition as an authority in that field of study.

Further, we know with certainty of one instance which proves that the influence of his writings was both important and fortunate. In a lecture on "Swedish Student Life," written about 1877 and delivered at Hamilton College and elsewhere, Willard Fiske has this to say about what directed him to the languages and the literatures of the North: "Instead of sticking to my Greek and Latin, my mathematics and orations—that quadrivium of my day—I strayed away over all sorts of fields of illegitimate study, until at last, partly through the influence of Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, the fascination of which none of you of the present generation can fully understand, partly through the influence of certain writings of our present honored minister to Italy, my wandering intellect settled down upon the Scandinavian language and literature, to which I devoted myself with irrepressible assiduity. My ardor at length reached such a pitch that one June morning I sailed adventurously away to the north of Europe, seeking what knowledge I might devour."¹²

"Our present honored minister to Italy" was none other than Marsh, and it is gratifying to be able to record that his writings helped turn the interest of Willard Fiske to the languages and the literature of the Scandinavian countries.

The March Icelandic collection in the University of Vermont, together with his other books in the Scandinavian field, is no doubt also, at least to some extent, responsible for the maintenance in that university of a rather remarkable course of instruction in the Scandinavian field. *The Poetic Edda* and the sagas as well as the works of leading Scandinavian authors of the 19th and 20th centuries are read in English translations.

¹² Horatio S. White, *Willard Fiske, Life and Correspondence, A Biographical Study*, Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 12.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF TEGNER'S POETIC ART

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IN HIS magnificent address, *Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund* (1820), Tegnér has given to the world a beautiful analysis of the esthetic nature of poetry. His synthesis of "kraft och klarhet," as the ideal of poetic composition, still remains a classic contribution to the study of poetic art. One of the most significant factors in Tegnér's delineation of poetry is the distinction which he makes between form and content, between the symbol and the thing—"tecknet är ej saken." It is the symbol, the form in which he clothes his poetic conceptions, with which I am here concerned—for however important Tegnér's contributions to religious, philosophical, ethical, or political thought may have been, his contributions to the esthetic aspect of poetry deserve equal recognition. Esaias Tegnér stands out as the greatest Swedish poet of his era in his masterful, powerful, clear, and beautiful flow of language. Through all his majestic thought there rings out a melody of verse, which in itself proves the artistic genius of that spirit who conceived the ideal of "kraft och klarhet."

It is not necessary to analyze the exposition of this ideal, especially since I am here chiefly concerned with only one of its phases, viz., "kraft." From an esthetic point of view "strength" may be the result of *contrast* and *color*. These two esthetic qualities serve as complements to each other; for color is contrast, and contrast is color, from an esthetic as well as from a physical point of view. Black stands out more vividly against white, even as grief appears more poignant when contrasted with happiness.

Perhaps the classic example of this phase of Tegnér's poetic art is revealed in his poem *Mjeltsjukan* (1825). Here contrast and color are welded together into one organic whole; setting off the ugly against the beautiful, despair against happiness. In the opening stanzas Tegnér pictures himself upon the hill-side; the sun is shining in the blue heavens; the earth is clad in a glorious garment of green; for God is good and man noble. Suddenly "the black elf," the symbol of that dark, brooding spirit of melan-

cholia, bites into the poet's heart; the bright light of the sun is extinguished; the verdant earth lies seer and withered; all nature is chilled with a wintry blast; the red rose of hope fades, and the heavenly blue memory of happiness pales before this destructive onslaught of the poisonous spirit of melancholia. It should be noted that in keeping with this powerful emotional contrast there is likewise a vivid contrast in colors; the bright colors, such as "blue," "green," and "red," symbolic of happiness and health, stand out in vivid contrast against the somber colors, such as "black," "yellow," and "pale," as symbolic of the morbid spirit of melancholia.

In connection with colors it should be noted that Tegnér very frequently uses flowers as symbols of human emotions. Much criticism was directed against Tegnér because of his "sentimental" tendency to burden his poetic metaphors with symbolic flowers, such as "hvita liljor" and "röda rosor." But if Tegnér was in this respect guilty of Romantic sentimentalism, he, nevertheless, always revealed an artistic propriety consonant with his poetic genius. The lily and the rose do, to be sure, play a very conspicuous rôle in his poetic metaphors. But to be just to Tegnér, it must be borne in mind that this symbolic use of flowers is restricted chiefly to his funeral poems and to his elegiac verse, where flowers serve as appropriate symbols of immortality, grief, hope, and other sentiments connected with death. As a proof of Tegnér's good taste in this symbolic use of flowers, not occurring in elegiac verse, I might mention the following example from his *Frithiofs saga*. In the opening canto Tegnér compares Frithiof to an oak tree ("Den ena som en ek sköt fram"), but Ingeborg to a rose ("Den andra växte som en ros"). Here strength (the attribute of man) is contrasted with beauty (the attribute of woman); hence the oak and the rose, nature's manifestation of strength and beauty, masculine and feminine. Romantic sentimentalism does not vitiate in the least the propriety of this metaphor.

It is chiefly the color of the rose and of the lily which gives to these flowers their symbolic significance. The red color of the rose symbolizes the bright side of life, reflecting such emotions as love, hope, and erotic passion; whereas the pale color of the

lily symbolizes the somber phases of life, such as death and grief, frequently also the sterner qualities of character, such as constancy and fidelity.

A characteristic example of this symbolic contrast between the lily and the rose occurs in his poem *Svar på P. D. A. Atterboms inträdestal i svenska akademien* (1840). Here Tegnér contrasts Northern fidelity with the erotic passion of the Southern races. "It is easy," he says, "to distinguish by its color Northern fidelity with its white lily from the love passion of the South with its red rose":

och lätt är på färgen skilja
en nordisk trohet med sin hvita lilja
från Söderns älskog med sin röda ros.

Again, in the canto "Afskedet" of *Frithiofs saga* Ingeborg, because of her subservience to duty, is likened not to the rose, as in the opening canto where happiness reigns, but to the pale water lily that falls and rises with the waves:

Den bleka vattenliljan liknar hon:
med vågen stiger hon, med vågen faller,
och seglarns köl går öfver henne fram
och märker icke, att han skär dess stängel.

And when she refuses to follow Frithiof in his flight to the Utopian bliss of the South, she paints a picture of color, contrasting the Northern temperament with the Southern:

Hvad skulle jag, ett Nordens barn, i Södern?
Jag är för blek för rosorna deri,
för färglöst är mitt sinne för dess glöd,
det skulle brännas af den heta solen . . .

The virtue and constancy of the Northern woman (Ingeborg) are thus symbolized by a pale color, which appears indeed almost colorless in contrast with the red rose, symbolic of the passionate temperament of the South.

Again, in the funeral poem to his brother (*Elof Tegnér*, 1815) hope is symbolized by "red roses," but the sad memories of the past by "the lily, the pale sister of death":

Hoppets rosor,
 de röda, de bedrägliga, ha vissnat
 för mig i förtid, innan hösten kom.

 Du återstår mig dock, du minnets lilja,

 du, dödens bleka syster, du skall fläta
 din aningsfulla krans kring sörjarns lockar.—

Again, in his funeral poem *På grafven i Hières* (1823) Tegnér contrasts death with life through color; the "white lily" again serving as the symbol of death, but "green" as "the color of hope":

Nej, utaf liljor vill jag kransen binda
 så hvit som snön på hennes hemlands berg,
 så hvit som hennes kind, som gravens linda,
 ty hvitt är dödens, grönt är hoppets färg.

These examples of contrast through color suffice to show conclusively that Tegnér possessed a fine artistic sense in this delicate device for enhancing the emotional element in his elegiac verse.

Other phases of symbolism were utilized by Tegnér with equal skill and beauty. The most characteristic of these phases was his interpretation of nature as the outward manifestation of that divine essence which underlies all things. To this pantheistic conception Tegnér gives perhaps the most beautiful expression in his poem *Träden* (ca. 1805). Here the trees are conceived not as outward things, but as the symbol of that living spirit which created them; every tree has a tongue which speaks the language of its Creator:

Fall ned och tillbed, icke ett skapadt ting,
 men håg som lefver! Lifvet är världens kung.

 O, låt mig trycka hvart väsen till kärligt bröst!
 Se, hvarje träd, som blommor, en tunga har,
 talar om skönhet och lif och kärlek;
 de stummas tunga är aftonvinden.

So too in "Frithofs lycka," all nature sings with Frithiof the song of his happiness and of his grief:

Hvem lärde dig, du bäck, som talar
med blommorna, min känslas röst?
Hvem gaf er, Nordens nakna galar,
den klagan, stulen ur mitt bröst?

And in his poem *Konstnärn* (1806) Tegnér compares the divine inspiration of the poet to the waters that flow from the earth's bosom and to the flowers that blossom beneath the spring sun:

Går ej ditt gudaverk fram af sig sjelf ändå,
som utur jordens barm de rika källor gå,
som under vårens sol de lätta blommor växa?

Of the particular phases of nature which Tegnér utilizes as symbols of human emotion, the heavenly bodies play a very conspicuous rôle; the sun and light symbolize joy and life (cf. his *Sång till solen* [1817] and Frithiof's apotheosis to the sun in "Frithiofs lycka"); and the stars and the moon reflect the atmosphere of joy or of grief. But of the heavenly bodies the stars most often appear in this symbolic rôle. From time immemorial man has conceived of the stars as determining his fate. In keeping with this primitive superstition of astrology Tegnér represents the stars as the symbolic reflection of the various vicissitudes of human life and the emotions connected with them.

First of all, we are reminded of the North Star, which for Ingeborg ("Afskedet") symbolized the unwavering guide to Swedish honor and fidelity:

och längtansfullt mitt öga skulle se
mot Nordens stjärna, hvilken står alltjämt,
en himmelsk skildtvakt, öfver fädrens gravar.

The stars symbolize either good or bad fortune; therefore they appear most frequently in those situations where grief or joy is uppermost, and according to these emotions the light of the stars either fades or grows bright.

In *Mjeltsjukan*, when "the black elf" of melancholia has

bitten into the poet's heart, the sun and stars suddenly become shrouded in darkness:

och sol och stjernor mörknade i hast;

* * * * *
gråtögda stjernor gå alltjämt och gå.

So too in "Afskedet," when Ingeborg in vain awaits Frithiof at the crisis of her life, her fading hope is symbolized by the pale stars that fade away upon the heavens:

Men Frithiof kommer ej! De bleka stjernor,
en efter annan, slockna och försvinna,
och med hvar enda utaf dem, som släcks,
går en förhoppning i mitt bröst till grafven.

So too, when Axel (*Axel*, 1822) laments the death of his bride, he cries out:

I stjernor, som på himlen brinnen,
jag ber er, slocknen och försvinnen!

But just as the light of the stars fades out in sorrow, so in joy and happiness their light becomes resplendent upon the heavens. For instance, in *Fridsröster* (1808), when upon a world torn with the brutal strife of war peace at last descends, the evening star shines forth upon the heavens:

Kommer qvällen med sin stjerna,—
qvällen är med friden slägt . . .

The bright light of the evening star shines out against the blue heavens, even as did the Star of Bethlehem shine forth to guide all humanity to peace. The radiant light of the star is only the outward manifestation of that inward light which to Tegnér symbolized the consummate goal of humanity—"den himmelska lågan." When in *Fridsröster* he exhorts humanity to keep "the heavenly flame burning within the soul":

Menska, någon himmelsk flamma
lefver i dig, vårda den!

Tegnér has simply given a more comprehensive interpretation to that heavenly light which shines forth from the evening star

of peace. "The heavenly flame" symbolizes that divine spark which unites all humanity with its Creator, of which peace is only a part.

Another beautiful example of the light of the star, as symbolizing the spiritual life of man, occurs in his funeral poem *Den främmande ynglingen* (1818). Here lies a foreign youth buried in his grave; but over the grave shines Freyja's Star, symbolizing the goddess of love, for it is she who knows the meaning of grief:

Frejas stjerna öfver grafven glöder,
hon är sakna'n kär.

Of the heavenly bodies the moon plays perhaps the least conspicuous rôle. The moon's pale light, like the pale color of the lily, symbolizes the somber emotions. For instance, in *Axel* the moon, symbolic of Axel's grief, rises like a ghost from the grave and sheds the color of death upon valleys and mountains:

och månen går ur österhafven,
en vålnad stigande ur grafven,
och målar dalar, målar berg
bedröfligt med de dödas färg . . .

So too in *Mjeltsjukan*, in keeping with the somber spirit of melancholia, "the half-moon keeps moving across the heavens . . .":

Halfätna månen skrider jämt och skrider . . .

In spite of all this symbolic response of nature to human emotions Tegnér, nevertheless, recognizes the impersonality of nature. In his poetry nature does not always heed the appealing voice of humanity. Here Tegnér's realism prevails over his religious instincts, but not over his artistic impulses; for the stern impersonality of nature adds a vivid touch of pathos to human grief. For instance, when Frithiof ("Frithiof på sin faders hög") beseeches his dead father to give answer to his words, nature is silent; death cannot speak, as do the waters and flowers in spring time:

Har grafven ingen tunga? För en klinga
den starke Angantyr ur högen qvad.

.

Du tiger, fader! Hör du, vågen klingar,
ljuft är dess sorl, lägg ner ditt ord deri!

.
Ej svar, ej tecken för din son i nöden
du eger, fader! O, hur arm är döden!

So likewise in his funeral poem *E. Rosenblad* (1806), Tegnér depicts the brutal silence of the grave, insensible to human grief:

Ack! när solen utur böljan stiger,
när hon rinner uti böljan ner,
ropar du hans namn. Men grafven tiger,
eko svarar dig—och ingen mer.

In his poem *Lifvet* (1806–1808) Tegnér gives perhaps the most powerful expression to nature's insensibility to human emotions:

Jag vill trycka dig till kärligt sköte,
o natur! jag ser, jag älskar dig;
men jag ryser,—räcker du åt mig
blott en kall och liflös famn till möte?
Står jag ensam vid en vidsträckt graf,
der min suck blott ekos gesvar väcker?
Och den varma hand, som jag dig räcker,
vet du, syster, vet du den ej af?

By emphasizing the impersonality of nature over against the personal, human attitude towards death Tegnér again employs the device of contrast; grief is all the more poignant when it meets with no sympathetic response. From an esthetic point of view there is just as much color in this contrast of life with death as in the contrast of light with darkness. Just as "det dunkelt sagda är det dunkelt tänkta" is contrasted with the bright, radiant light of Phoebus Apollo, the god of art, so death stands out in overwhelming reality when man is confronted with nature's inexorable sovereignty.

There were, of course, other devices which Tegnér employed to enhance the beauty of his verse, but the most outstanding and the most effective devices were *color* and *contrast*:

Ej form, ej färg är stängd ur sångens gille,
en regel smaken har: den heter *snille** . . .

* Svar på P. D. A. Atterboms inträdestal i svenska akademien.

CARL ADOLPH LÖNNQUIST, THE POET

JOSEPH ALEXIS

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IN THE mind and heart of the Swedish-American poet one observes frequently a conflict between attachment to the old home and interest in the new world. For many immigrants to America the pain of separation from the old soil was so intense that they could not endure it; to maintain their peace of mind, they felt constrained to return to the fatherland. The greater number, however, remained and after a comparatively short time felt well at home in their new habitat. The Swedish-American poet, who already knew Sweden, now familiarized himself with America, thus becoming acquainted with two continents and with the cultures of both. Thus he had a broader world view than does the writer familiar only with one country.

Swedish-American authors belong not so much to different literary schools as they do to the professions that they follow. As literature alone did not furnish them a livelihood, writers had to seek other means of subsistence. Some were clergymen, others became educators, a third group found positions on the staffs of the Swedish-American press. Some of these writers might well be called Swedes in America, preserving almost completely the Swedish point of view; others had the American outlook on life and on the world at large.

Carl Adolph Lönnquist was a representative of the latter type. Though he received his college education in Sweden, his devotion to his new country was as full as that of anyone born here. In fact, he did not see how he could live anywhere but on the Nebraska prairie. He was, therefore, not only an American but a regionalist of the Middle West. Born in the province of Småland in 1869, he studied at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. At the age of twenty-two he came to America. In this connection it is interesting to note that the average age of Swedish writers in America on arriving in the land of their adoption has been twenty-two. It may also be observed here that very few of these writers in Swedish have been born in America.

With the end of emigration from Sweden, there will consequently be no new Swedish-American literature.

Lönnquist graduated from the Augustana Theological Seminary in 1893 and was in charge of the Swedish Lutheran Church at Stromsburg, Nebraska, from 1893 to 1896, after which he served the Bethany Church near Axtell, Nebraska, from 1896 to 1921. From this date until his death in 1937 he was the superintendent and treasurer of the Bethphage Mission at Axtell.

Lönnquist's first volume of poems, *Dikter af Teofilus*, appeared in 1906; then *Kantat för jubelsynoden*, 1910; *Fyrväplingen*, 1911; *Sundet vid Treskär och andra dikter af Teofilus*, 1913; *Vildros* (poems), 1916; *Efter 40 år*, 1916; *Och jag såg det nya Jerusalem* (sermons), 1917. During the latter years of his life he turned to writing poetry in English and composed the Bethphage Hymnal.

The poetry of Lönnquist is characterized by smooth and melodious diction, delicacy of sentiment, and truthfulness. These qualities are all exemplified in *Sundet vid Treskär*, in which the widow of Fiskar-Matts loses her eight-year old Torsten. Unbeknown to his mother and the neighbors, the little boy had been carried out to sea, where he was picked up by a Dutch seaman. Note the description of the widow's little home:

Gick kosan din från Nordsjöns vreda haf
hän genom Skagerak och Kattegatt
på böljans stigar mot de svenska skären,
det kunde hända, att bland kustens klippor
du fick en skymt af tallarna och torpet.
Kanhända såg du äfven fiskarstugan,
som låg där väderbitet grå på höjden
bespejande med gafvelfönstrets öga
det mörka haf, där Fiskar-Matts drog ut
en dag med varp och stora fiskebåten
och glömde vända stäffen hem igen.

The poetry of Lönnquist is pervaded with religious feeling. He was not dogmatic in the narrow sense of the word, and some of his fellow-preachers at times doubted his orthodoxy, but his poetry illustrates constantly his faith in the Divine and in the

eternity of goodness. He pondered the questions of existence, he understood the doubts and misgivings of his fellowmen. Upborne by a simple faith, he exemplified his sincerity by a beautiful life, dedicated in its last chapter to the unfortunates at the Bethphage Home.

Lönnquist ridiculed Ernst Haeckel's *Evolution of Man* in the poem *Professor Gaeckels sprit*:

Professor Gaeckel uti Lena,
är, som man vet, en lärd krabat,
som allt slags spiritus kan rena
och tappar sanningen på fat.

Jag hör ej till den lärda ringen,
som festar kring förnuftets bål.
Jag ser med vanlig blick på tingen
och smakar aldrig alkohol.

Kan icke ock en präst behöfva
få vyer, han, emellanåt?
Få något starkt, som kan bedöfva
och hämma hjärtats stilla gråt?

När andra smyga bort och smaka
på flaskan i sitt matsäcksskrin,
hvarför skall då en präst försaka
sån andlig dryck som Gaeckels vin?

Lönnquist's religious poetry is not coldly theological; rather it is the expression of the universal feeling of mankind; it voices the longing and yearning of humanity.

No matter where he might have established himself, Lönnquist would doubtless have learned to feel at home, for his imagination filled his world with interesting objects. Out on the Nebraska prairie he could dream to his heart's content, as is illustrated in the poem *Mellan dröm och verklighet*:

Hvi vill jag, ack, så gärna städse dröja
i fantasien och i tankedrömmen,
fast ej en flik jag lyfter af den slöja,
som döljer för mig tingens innandömen?

Är fantasiens värld då ej allena
en villa, född af en försliten hjärna?
Och denna fjärrsyn, med sin glans så rena,
ett ljusintryck från någon rymdens stjärna?

But dreams and imagination solve no problems, and the author asks what the soul may be:

Är själen värmen blott i lifvets låga,
som för en själf kan endast ett: besvära,
men blir till lust för andra eller plåga,
om man är lagom eller allt för nära?

Lönnquist is classic in his style and reminds one of Tegnér and Runeberg. Again, there is something of the facile grace of Fröding in his easy flowing lines, as in the poem *Ann*:

Storbonden var en mäktig man
och krusade för ingen ann',
behöfde det ej heller.
Med mångt och mycket jordagods
han kunde vara väl till mods,
så långt som guld det gäller.
Han satt vid lyckans fyllda brunn,
där ur dess gyllendrakes mun
all lifvets njutning väller.

His neighbor was a poor man, and, as will happen, the poor man's son and the proprietor's Ann loved each other. When Karl asked for the daughter's hand, the father replied:

Min dotter skall vid lif och själ
ej du i brudstol föra.
Den äta skall sitt eget bröd,
som henne hand och hjärta bjöd
och icke hennes bryta!

Karl left the country for greater opportunities beyond the Atlantic. In time, however, the rich man's heart was softened, and the young man was invited to come back and claim his bride.

As in this poem, so generally in Lönquist's poetry there is a happy ending. The author's optimism prevails, though he perceives clearly the heartaches, the doubts, and the misgivings of the individual. Why should one fret and worry after all? This thought is brought out in *Hvad är det värdt att gråta?*

Hvad är det värdt att gråta öfver lifvet,
så länge tidens urverk ej står still?
Hvad tjänar det väl till att lyss på kifvet
och få sitt inre sjukt och sönderrifvet,
man kan väl dra sig undan, om man vill?

Ty lifvet blir, hvad du det själf må göra,
och ingen annan danar det åt dig.
Haf mod att stoppa vax uti ditt öra,
så slipper du belackarns röst att höra—
han skadar ändå ingen mer än sig.

Lönquist found relief, if not consolation, in the humorous aspect of a situation. It provoked him to see the vanity and self-praise in which many indulged; arrogance displeased him and induced an ironic or satirical touch in his poetry, exemplified by *Mina anor*:

Min vän, baronen herr von Åålenstjärt,
om sina anor gärna mig förtäljde
och nöp mig med satirens fina snärt,
att jag med mycken nöd förtreten sväljde.
Hans farfars farmors morfars farfars far
snört skorna åt en kung nångång i tiden
och sedan kunglig snörsvenstitel bar
och fick ett von och klädde sig i siden.

The conceited baron wished to be examined by Professor Gaeckel:

"Låt mig få se ert kranium," svarte han,
"och granska fakta och studera data!
Nåväl, jag genast konstatera kan,
Ni hör till Bimana och Vertebrata."
"Hur långt, professor," återtog jag, "går

min släkt tillbaka i vår tids annaler?"
 "Man gissar mer än hundra tusen år—
 Ni har väl hört om Der Neanderthaler?"

Learning that he might be related to the gorilla, the baron did not care to conduct further search.

Attention has been called to the love that Lönnquist had for the prairies of Nebraska. He claimed that it was simply impossible for him to live anywhere else than in this region to which he had become so attached. He knew that the weather was inclement at times. "Here we really have summer heat," he remarked, "and not only at the equator." He spoke of the burning rays of the sun and added that one familiar with Nebraska temperature could play with red-hot iron. The heavy clouds overhead are laden, not with rain but with earth and sand. The fields are burned as by fire, and the farmer moves gladly to Texas, only to return the following spring to the same old Nebraska. Then, patient as a lamb, he continues his toil, perspiring freely but insisting, "It is not so bad after all." When the atmosphere itself seems to burn and the very soil smokes, the farmer who has returned to this state pantingly says: "Glorious country."

His poem *Nebraska-sommar* ends thus:

Kan någon dödlig tälja mig,
 hvad ingen kan förstå,
 hur denna ökenprärie
 förmår förtrolla så,
 att den det landet sett
 han mister allt sitt vett
 och tror det vara paradiset,
 fast det står där svedt?

Lönnquist was a master in the use of the Swedish language in prose as well as in poetry and in his day was one of the leading orators in the Swedish language in this country. With him passed another member of the dwindling group of Swedish-American poets.

SWEDISH SUBJECT FORMS OF INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES, OF THE RELATIVE VAD, AND OF INDEFINITE RELATIVES

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IN DISCUSSING Swedish pronominal words that have separate subject and object forms (as *jag: mig*), Natanael Beckman¹ says:

Vidare böra märkas följande fall, i vilka pronomina, då de utgöra eller bestämma subjektet, få ett tillagt *som*.

6. I indirekt fråga alla frågande pronomina. . . .²

Anm. 2. Gammaldags låter t. ex. *Jag vet blott, vad är mitt* (Geijer). Märk, att därvid ingen skillnad skulle kvarstå mellan direkt och indirekt fråga. Häri ligger nog grunden till vår nya kasusböjning i frågande pronomina. . . .³

7. Det relativa *vad*, då satsen har vanlig bisatsordföljd. . . .

8. Alldeles som de frågande behandlas de allmänt relativa pronomina. . . .

¹ *Svensk språklära*⁸ (Stockholm, 1935), §55. See also §§78, *Märk*; 83 ff.; 94, II; 213, IV; 225, Anm. 3.

² It is an interesting phenomenon of Swedish grammar that interrogative pronouns and adjectives have a subject form only when used in subordinate clauses. The relative *vad* and the indefinite relatives are of course always employed in subordinate clauses.

³ Since the related languages do not require a device for this purpose ("Who is coming? I don't know who is coming."), this statement might seem open to question. Yet one language frequently insists on making distinctions for which another language feels no need.

When an interrogative pronoun or adjective is the object, the change in word order brings about a difference between the direct and the indirect question, in Swedish as in English. "Which book was he reading? I don't know which book he was reading." When in English an affirmative verb does not have the progressive form, a further difference lies in the use and non-use, respectively, of the auxiliary "do." "What did he say? I don't know what he said."

⁴ *Svensk språklära i sammandrag*²⁹ (Stockholm, 1937), §225. See also §111, b, where the author says: "*Vad* kan antingen inbegripa korreletet och betyda 'det som' eller åtföljas av *som* . . . t. e. *Man säger ej allt, vad man tänker. Välj, vad som mest behagar dig.*" This is poorly expressed since it implies that in the latter case *vad* = *det* = "korreletet" to a following relative, *som*. But *vad som* is simply the subject form of *vad*. Gideon Danell, in *Svensk språklära*² (Lund, 1932), p. 88, explains the situation correctly: "Relativpronominet *vad* kan, antingen ensamt eller åtföljt av ett *som*, i sig inbegripa korreletet." So Beckman, *op. cit.*, §78, *Märk*, quoted in footnote 13.

⁵ He does not mention the indefinite relatives.

D. A. Sundén⁴ says:

De interrogativa *vem*, *vad*, *vilken* (och det relativa *vad*)⁶ kunna utfyllas⁶ med *som*, när de stå, vanligen som subjekt,⁷ i en indirekt fråga (l. en relativsats). . . . När *vilken* och *vad* som adjektivattribut bestämma ett substantiv, skiljas de från *som*,⁸ t. e. *Jag vet ej, vilken kvinna som förtalat honom*.

The description of this subject given by these grammarians in the passages cited and in other passages cited or referred to in the footnotes of this article is not complete. The following pages aim to present an account that is better suited to the needs of those who teach Swedish as a foreign language. In order that also the non-technical reader may get full benefit of the presentation, abundant illustrative sentences are provided.

Normally, *som*⁹ is employed after interrogatives introducing subordinate clauses, after the relative *vad*, and after indefinite relatives, when these stand in the subject relation. (1) Interroga-

⁶ Sundén's "kunna utfyllas," because it suggests too free omission of *som*, and Beckman's "få ett tillagt *som*," because it does not admit the possibility of its omission, should, as will become clear, be phrased differently.

⁷ The words "vanligen som subjekt" should be changed to "så gott som utslutande som subjekt," or, better, they should be omitted. The employment of *som* with a pronoun or pronominal adjective in object function is rare. *Fast röddgd efter en genomvakad natt hade hon ett modigt ord för vem, som hon mötte* (Verner von Heidenstam, *Svenskarna och deras hövdingar*, I [Stockholm, 1908], p. 305). *Det enda som hon inte kunde säga, det var vilka trolldrägar som hon hade brukat läsa över boskapen, ty hon kunde inga* (*Ibid.*, II [Stockholm, 1910], p. 151). *Hon bleknade, då hon såg vilken smärta som hans ansikte avspeglade* (Selma Lagerlöf, *Drottningar i Kungahälla* [Stockholm, 1909], p. 76). Beckman, *op. cit.*, §55, Anm. 5, refers to the use of *som* with pronominal words that are not in the subject relation as being a regional manifestation: "Framställningen i mom. 6 och 8 [as quoted at the beginning of this article] avser skriftspråket. I en del orter, t. ex. Stockholm, torde samtalsspråket stundom använda *vem som* o.s.v. även i andra fall." This may account for Sundén's "vanligen."

⁸ As will be seen in various examples below, separation is not limited to the adjective use, nor to *vilken* and *vad*.

⁹ In the following example, *där* is employed as the subject marker: . . . *utan att engång odelat få bortskänka allt, själ och kropp, vad där jäste och brann i hjärnan, vad där darrade och klingade i hennes bröst av återhållen, länge förvarad ömhet* (Oscar Levertin, *Samlade skrifter*, III [Stockholm, 1918], p. 126). This is probably due to Danish influence. Cf. Beckman, *op. cit.*, §55, Anm. 6: "Det såsom subjektstecken använda *som* har en motsvarighet i danskarnas *der*; för de övriga språken är det främmande." Cf. also Swedish *den'* *där*, used almost wholly as the subject form of the relative pronoun *den*, which is employed almost ex-

tive. På så sätt finner man, vilket av de båda objekten som måste gå före det andra. Skjutsbonden visste inte vilken väg som var genast. Han undrade vad han skulle få se, och vad som skulle komma att hända. Vet du vad för folk som har bott här? Men även han hade blivit nyfiken på de tre plughästarnas klubb och vad slags bomber, som kunde lagas till i deras tre bläcklådor. Därför behöves ofta ett närmare angivande av vem eller vad i det omtalade som åsýftas. Ingen visste vem av de sju andra, som i så fall möjligen skulle fört det vidare. Lektorn ville . . . visa vem som var finast och vems önsksningar som först skulle tillfredsställas. Men vilkens hand, som hade kastat den, det fick han aldrig veta. Vilkendera formen som kan tänkas som underförstådd, får ses av sammanhanget. Det är lätt att se, hurudana barn som skola växa upp i ett sådant hem. (2) The relative *vad*. Här kommer därför blott att påpekas det allra viktigaste av vad som utgivits före 1878. Vad som gjort Hugo Brenners namn bekant, och som¹⁰ skaffat honom hans ställning, var. . . Jag kan nog inte ens se den i det ljus, vari jag då såg allt, vad som hände mig, allt vad jag upplevde. (3) Indefinite relatives. Vid auktionen bjöds kaffe åt vem som kom. Nu kunde han göra vad som helst, vad som föll honom in. . . Han skulle gå till det begärda mötet, vad som nu än väntade. Julen var förhanden med fester och nöjen . . . och vad sorg som än tyngde Gösta Berling, ej bar han den i ansiktet eller på läpparna. Han ville vad helst som behagade henne, och eljest ingenting. Han blev . . . dömd efter gammal sed, som bjuder, att vem helst som stör freden på den stora lekdagen, måste gå i landsflykt. Men om bara greve Gustav kommer undan, hoppas jag att antingen Sigismund eller hertigen, vilkendera som blir rådande, skall känna mig.

But sometimes *som* is omitted.¹¹ (1) Interrogative. . . att

clusively as an object form. I am of the opinion that the use of *där* in the above sentence by Levertin should not be explained in the way that *Svenska akademis ordbok* (under *där*) explains the use of this word in the sentence *Han tog allt vad där fanns*: " . . . pleonastiskt, utan eg. innebörd blott för att åt uttrycket giva större åskådlighet l. livlighet l. eftertryck o.d."

¹⁰ Note the repetition of *som*.

¹¹ Beckman, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article, says: "Gammaldags låter t. ex. *Jag vet blott, vad är mitt* (Geijer)." This is not true of most clauses so constructed; cf., for example, the sentences here cited.

In sentences like *Han såg vem det var* and *Därför förstod han, vem hon var*, *vem* is not the subject, but is the predicate nominative. In such cases *som* is not

icke konsekvent ges upplysning om vilka arbeten äro skrivna på latin och vilka på svenska. Och då blev spörsmålet vad sedan skulle följa. Jag tyckte mig ana både vad en gång skett och vad hon undgått. (2) Relative. *Man kom att tänka på att allt, vad här var röjt eller byggt, en gång skulle vara borta. Tryckt blev däremot ytterst litet av vad sålunda samlades. Vad mer blev yttrat oss emellan må stanna hos Den Högste, som hörde oss. Lika viktigt som det logiska uppfattandet är nämligen vad inom filosofien kallas "Einsühlung." Enligt vad ovan utvecklats. . . . Oavsett vad härom nämnts. . . . På grund av vad nu anförts. . . .* (3) Indefinite. *Som Jomsviking fick han aldrig visa sig glad eller klaga och kvida, vad än hände, och. . . .*

When the verb of a clause introduced by *vad* employed as a relative or as an indefinite relative is placed last in the clause,¹² *som* is generally omitted.¹³ *Den lyckliga människan, det är den som*

used. Beckman, *op. cit.*, §55, Anm. 3, says: "Genom att förändra direkt fråga till indirekt kan man ofta uppvisa, vad som är subjekt eller ej. Ex. '*Vem är det?*' '*Jag vet inte vem det är.*' *Vem* är icke subjekt.—'*Vem är klassföreståndare i 2 b?*' '*Jag vet inte, vem som är det.*' *Vem* är subjekt." Danell, *op. cit.*, p. 107, expresses the same thought differently by pointing out that in the sentence *Vem är författaren?* there is ambiguity, but that this is not present in the indirect questions *Man vet ej, vem som är författaren, Man vet ej vem författaren är.*

¹² In the shortest kinds of subordinate clauses the verb must of necessity stand last, and this is in Swedish also (or may also be) the case in subordinate clauses in which there are present in the predicate, besides the simple verb form, only adverbs or adverbial phrases which stand (or may stand) between the subject and the verb. In the preceding paragraph, which also illustrates the omission of *som*, there are examples of such clauses with the verb in the final position. Since in these sentences, however, these clauses have the normal word order for the type they represent, they do not illustrate the usage here under discussion. Such short subordinate clauses also occur among the examples illustrating the basic type with *vad som*.

¹³ A few of the clauses that are here cited or that belong here are always or generally phrased with the verb in the final position, as *vad värre var, vad hända ville*. Note similar examples with stereotyped word order also in the following paragraph, which illustrates the employment of *vad som* with the verb in the final position.

Beckman, *op. cit.*, §78, *Märk*, says: "Då *vad* är satsens subjekt, skulle satsen ej kunna skiljas från en direkt frågesats. För att förebygga denna otydlighet låter man antingen *vad* ersättas av *vad som* . . . eller ock sätter man mot vanliga regler bestämningen före predikatet. . . ." Cf. footnote 3. For us, with our language, it is impossible to see any need for preventing "otydighet" in such cases, no need for clearness. But cf. footnote 11.

kan le i sin ensamhet åt alla och allt, vad i livet är. Hela staden med vad däruti fanns hetsades upp. . . . Man hjälpte åt att rädda, vad räddas kunde. Jag hatar allt, vad kamrater heter. Då såg jag också henne och allt, vad hennes var, med andra och främmande ögon. Hända sedan vad hända ville! Med tungt hjärta skrev hon däri, vad skrivas skulle. Han sysselsatte sig med allt, vad till renkötseln hörde. Men vad värre var, all samfärdsel stannade av. Må var och en göra vad i hans förmåga står. Flickor i massa, som sins emellan viskade i orolig förväntan på vad komma skulle. The finite verb is not always at the very end of the clause. *Eljest spändes allt vad av ögon fanns i Hamra kyrka upp mot mannen i predikstolen. Allt vad i nöjesväg kan upptänkas hade här bjudits mig. Allt vad organiskt liv heter på jorden flyr smärtan. Allt vad kättare kunde kallas, var han besluten att utrota utan nåd. . . . Det betyder att ett krig mellan venne folk eller vad värre kunde ha varit, ett krig mot framtiden, är förekommet.*

But not infrequently *som* is used after *vad* employed as a relative or as an indefinite relative also when the verb stands last in the clause.¹⁴ *Detta var endast en inledning till vad som komma*

¹⁴ The verb is often placed in the final position also in subordinate clauses whose subject is not the relative or the indefinite relative *vad*. *Den illa gör, han illa far. Där stod han och väntade det, som komma skulle. Av princip teg han inte heller, när han var av olika mening med vem det vara månne. Allt vad du för egen del av livet begärt, har du fått. Kosta vad det kosta vill, så måste vi hjälpa honom. Vad Sverige beträffar, så . . . (beträffar here impersonal). Bådden snyggades opp, så gott sig göra lät. Och hon sörjde sin man, som skick och bruk är. På sista tiden hade han, så vitt möjligt var, undvikit att. . . . Sannerligen (om) jag det vet.* Note the sentence *Han undrade storligen vad som komma skulle*. Indirect interrogative clauses, following the types which regularly appertain to them, may thus belong in the category just illustrated, which includes a rather wide variety of kinds of clauses. Indeed, also the sentences of the present paragraph, with the relative and the indefinite relative *vad som* followed by the verb in the final position in reality belong to this category, since also in these sentences the only irregularity present is that of the position of the verb.

N. Linder, in his prescriptive grammar *Regler och råd angående svenska språkets behandling i tal och skrift*¹⁵ (Stockholm, 1908), p. 181, says: "Det fordom mycket allmänna bruket att sätta predikatet efter alla sina bestämningar och hjälpverbet efter huvudverbet är främmande för vårt språks lynne." Beckman, *op. cit.*, §225, Anm. 3, says: "I äldre tid var det långt vanligare än nu, att bestämningar flyttades före finit verb i bisats. Några sådana uttryck [he does not here include those with *vad* as subject, which are discussed in the following para-

skulle. Nu fick det komma, vad som komma ville. Men vad som värre var, en viss kallsinnighet . . . steg upp inom honom. Tala alltid sanning, hända vad som hända vill. De andra två var färdiga till allt, vad som vackert och ädelt var, medan han stod och var hård och misstrogen.

Som is also employed as a subject marker with *huru* (*hur*, *hur pass*, *så*=*hur*) + certain words denoting quantity, number, or extent (as *mycket*, *litet*, *många*, *få*, *lång*) when these occur in indirect questions or are used as indefinite relatives, functioning either as subjects or as modifiers of the subject.¹⁵ (1) Interrogative. *Han hade ännu icke kunnat besluta sig för vilka drifter som skulle undertryckas och hur mycket som av jaget måste offras för samhället. . . . Hur mycket mull som behövdes för en duglig spjerritus, kunde han inte rätt veta. . . . Jag har med mig ett papper där du kan se, hur pass mycket som kommer på din lott. Man visste själv hur litet som kunde göras. Han visste inte ens fullt klart, hur många som småningom blevo invigda. . . . Jag är icke mer nyfiken på hur många mil som skilja jorden och solen än på hur många syllar som ligga i järnvägen mellan Lerbäck och Askersund. Räknade han i tankarna, hur många av huvudena omkring honom, som snart skulle ligga avhuggna på torget? Och vi hava redan sett huru få biblar som funnos i de svenska medeltidsbiblioteken. Han ser sig i farten om . . . för beräkning hur lång tid och väg, som återstår. Skogar och berg fanns det . . . överallt, men det var otroligt så många märkvärdiga ställen som låg gömda mellan dem.* (2) Indefinite. *Men hur många gräben som fälldes, slämtade lika många blodgiriga gap mellan buskarna. Hur många som än väntade i folkskökets kö, fick han soppan att räcka till. . . . Hon hade aldrig tillåtit någon annan dylikt, hur många som också hade försökt.*

Occasionally *som* is missing. *Han skulle gå vägen rakt fram, hur många kulor än skulle komma att susa omkring honom.*¹⁶

graph] kvarstå; somliga av dessa ha en högtidlig, andra en skämtsam klang." Yet, such expressions are still fairly numerous, and the adjectives "högtidlig" and "skämtsam" do not characterize all of them.

¹⁵ I do not find mention of this usage by the Swedish grammarians, except for Beckman, who, however, does not describe it, but merely says (§55, 6): "Jfr även *Hur mycket beror på det här? Tänk, hur mycket som beror på det här.*" Cf. also §88.

¹⁶ Henning Berger, *Drömmen om helvetet* (Stockholm, 1906), p. 249.

ADVERBIAL USE OF VAD IN SWEDISH

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VAD is in exclamations often used as an adverb, generally with the meaning 'how.' . . . *vad han längtade hem, vad han hade mycket att berätta för mor och syster, och vad de skulle ha samlat mycket stoff till skämt och prat! Vad han visste mycket, vad han förstod allt! Vad de göra väl, de, som hålla sina händer från svärdet. . . . "Farbror Eberhard," säger hon, "vad världen är grå och ful, vad allt är gagnlöst!"* As these examples show, *vad* in this use stands at the head of the clause, and the word it modifies is separated from it. Had *hur* been employed instead, the adjectives, adverbs, and the word *mycket* would have been placed immediately after the exclamatory adverb.

Observe the meaning of *vad*, introducing a subordinate clause, in: *Då vaknade han och sprang, vad han förmådde, ut från bryggeriet. . . .* To express the meaning that *vad* has here, also *allt vad* is used. *Han skrek på hjälp allt vad han förmådde. Så åkte de båda, allt vad hästen kunde löpa, till länsmannen uppe i byn.* In the following sentence, *allt vad* has indefinite meaning: *Hon var ju i alla fall kvinna, allt vad hon ansträngde sig att förmå sig själv och andra att glömma det.* The English translation varies with the context. In rendering the cited examples with *allt vad*, we would say in English, respectively: 'as loudly as,' 'as fast as,' 'however much.' Also in Swedish, the equivalents of these English renditions can be used. Sometimes *vad* is not present, but *allt* alone is employed. *Ingmar satt och stred emot allt han kunde.*

REVIEWS

Iceland Past and Present. By Björn Thórdarson. Translated by Sir William Craigie. Oxford University Press, London, 1941. Pp. 46.

Since Iceland became drawn into the surging stream of world events, new and widespread interest has been aroused in both the country and its people, and a vast number of newspaper and magazine articles have been written about them in England and America. To anyone familiar with conditions in Iceland and the life of the Icelandic people, many of these writings have, to say the least, appeared strange, since they contain misstatements and misunderstanding, often of the most ludicrous kind. Yet there have been notable exceptions.

This little book, published after the landing of a British Expeditionary Force in Iceland but before the arrival of American troops, was prepared for the purpose of giving the English people and other English-speaking readers a concise and truthful account of Iceland past and present, as the title suggests. It is written by a learned and distinguished Iceland, Dr. Björn Thórdarson, since the middle of last December Prime Minister of Iceland; and for this reason the book takes on an added significance. Sir William Craigie, long known and noted for his interest in Iceland and his intimate knowledge of its literature and culture, has translated the book into English, which fact makes further comment on this point superfluous.

Now, it goes without saying that the political and cultural history of Iceland cannot be told in any detail on some fifty pages, but within his limited space the author has managed to bring together much important and many-sided information about Iceland. His account is well planned, clear, and readable.

Here are succinct chapters on the colonization of Iceland and the origin of the Icelanders, population and language, government down through the centuries, the union of Iceland and Denmark, the country and its resources, occupations, material progress, foreign trade, culture, and special landmarks in the history of the country, such as the commemoration in 1874 of the thousandth anniversary of the settlement of Iceland and

the millennial celebration in 1930 of the founding of the Althing.

Especially timely is the chapter dealing with "The Military Importance of Iceland," accompanied by a map showing its strategic geographic location, which has become increasingly apparent in the light of more recent events.

In a concluding statement the author duly recognizes that the present situation has brought a new relationship between Iceland and the world at large. He adds: "It is out of its power to have any influence on the course of the war. Its task is to show to the world that it is worthy to live and enjoy freedom in its internal affairs and in its intercourse with other countries. History will bear witness to the fact that it has been worthy to live."

The book is attractive in appearance and well printed. The only disturbing misprint I have noted is on p. 33, where the year of the death of Einar Benediktsson, the poet, is given as "1920" instead of 1940. "Hrafrista" on p. 46 should, of course, be *Hrafnista*.

The book, which is one in the series of the "Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs," achieves its purpose well. Those readers, however, who wish to obtain fuller and more detailed information about Iceland and its people may be referred to Hjalmar Lindroth's *Iceland: A Land of Contrasts* (New York, 1937) and Vilhjalmur Stefansson's *Iceland: The First American Republic* (New York, 1939).

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Greenland. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., Garden City (New York), 1942. Pp. viii + 338.

This book on Greenland is a companion volume to the author's challenging and significant book *Iceland: The First American Republic*, referred to in the preceding review, where he argued vigorously in favor of the view that this traditional westernmost outpost of European civilization must be considered geographically a part of the Western Hemisphere; hence, the striking title of that book.

In view of the historic events since its publication, which

have brought forcefully home to all thinking Americans the strategic importance of both Iceland and Greenland in the defense of this continent, it is a matter of much gratification to have at hand such an exhaustive study of Greenland and its history by a leading authority in the field of Arctic explorations and historical research.

After an enlightening preliminary chapter on the geography of Greenland, Stefansson goes on to discuss the prehistoric discoveries of the country and then devotes two chapters, respectively, to Greek knowledge of Greenland and the probability of its discovery by the Irish, of which the first chapter is particularly interesting. An important phase of this discussion, the voyage of Pytheas, is dealt with at length and critically in the author's book *Ultima Thule* (New York, 1940).

Then comes the bulk of the historical part of the volume, chapters V to XI, which tell in great detail the history of Greenland from the time of its discovery and settlement by the Icelanders in the ninth century down to the end of the Middle Ages. Besides the account of the Icelandic discovery of the country, there are chapters on the discovery of America by the Greenlanders, the Christianization of Greenland, life and letters in the Greenland Republic, the decline and disappearance of the colony, and concerning what Europe knew about Greenland in the Middle Ages. This vast amount of salient information on the subject is drawn from many sources and makes absorbing reading.

Wisely, the author has included in the book a very readable translation, made directly from the Icelandic, of the two sagas most directly concerning Greenland, the well-known *Saga of Erik the Red* and the less known *Saga of Einar Sokkason*. The inclusion of the latter is especially welcome, as it presents a graphic picture of life in Greenland.

Particularly noteworthy is Stefansson's discussion of the historical mystery surrounding the disappearance of the Greenland colonists and their descendants. Drawing on his own wide knowledge of the Arctic as well as on numerous historical sources, he supports and extends the view, championed in particular by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, that the Greenlanders had finally been

absorbed by the Eskimos. Stefansson's contentions and conclusions on this significant point, grounded in thorough historical and archeological research on the subject, cannot readily be brushed aside.

Nor is the fascinating history of Greenland thereby concluded. In chapters XII, XIII, and XIV Stefansson tells of the revival of sailings to Greenland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and of the later resettlement and exploration of the country. Then follows a valuable chapter on the administration and development of Greenland, which shows that the Eskimos there have undeniably in many respects fared well under the benevolent and progressive paternalism of the Danish government.

Should anyone be in doubt as to the timeliness of this book or as to the fundamental value of the control of Greenland for the defense of the Western Hemisphere, let him read Stefansson's concluding chapter "Strategic Importance," which contains much vital information on the subject as well as some new and startling statements.

The book is, as already indicated, carefully documented throughout and contains an extensive bibliography and a good index. Maps and several excellent illustrations add to its attractiveness and general usefulness.

Stefansson has gone far afield in gathering the material for this notable volume, but with his firm grasp of the subject-matter and his literary skill he has succeeded in producing a book which is as pleasant to read as it is informative.

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